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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings of a study that examined changing governance structures in the educational systems of several European countries. The reforms have developed new modalities for the content, standards, administration, and control of education. Special attention is given to the relation between the reforms in authority structures and the reforms regarding quality-control mechanisms. The paper examines the extent to which differences occur in the direction and character of these reforms, with a focus on centralization and decentralization efforts. It describes the tradition of the education system, the reforms implemented, and the perspectives of the realized reforms in England, Wales, the Netherlands, Germany (especially the former German Democratic Republic), and Russia. Findings indicate that functional decentralization to nongovernmental agencies has occurred in England, the Netherlands, and Russia. Territorial decentralization can be found in Germany and Russia. All countries experienced the redistribution of power, increased parental influence, and a general movement from control of input to control of output. Professionals' influence decreased in the western systems and increased in the eastern systems. One figure is included. Contains 27 references. (LMI)

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Changing conditions in education systems: searching for new balances in some East and West European countries

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Changing conditions in education systems: searching for new balances in some East and West European countries.

In education systems in Europe reform is going on regarding the checks and balances for controlling the quality of education.
In Western European systems concepts like the autonomous and responsive institution, national core curricula and system evaluation can be recognised since the 1980s.
These new concepts require new modalities for organising the authority structure.
This causes very often new legislation as well as new practices.
Education systems in Eastern Europe developed the last few decades their own dynamics. Centralisation, comprehensive schooling and polytechnical education are some of the more or less known features of these education systems. Due to the changes of the late 1980s swirling dynamics have to be faced now. Reforms are at least started in most Eastern European education systems. These reforms have to do with developing new modalities for the content, standards, administration and control of education.

The character of the reforms varies per country. In this paper attention will be paid to some of the reforms in European education systems. Special attention will be paid towards the relation between the reforms in authority structures and the reforms regarding mechanisms of controlling the quality of education. It will be questioned to which extend essential differences occur in the direction and character of these reforms.
The paper intends to be a comparative orientation on the topic based on the study of literature and on information collected recently in Germany and Russia. Important elements in the model used for the analysis are: the tradition of the education system concerned, the reforms and the perspectives of the realised reforms.

J.Braaksma

Changing conditions in education systems: searching for new balances in some East and West European countries.

Introduction

The quality of education is under discussion in many European education systems. These discussions cope with questions regarding the curriculum, standards and evaluation. In essence these discussions deal with questions about who controls education and how this should be done. Be it in a centralised or a more decentralised system, these questions of control remain and attract professional, political and public attention when educational reforms are on the agenda. The fate of recent reforms in for example England & Wales, the Netherlands, Germany (especially the former German Democratic Republic) and Russia seem to be good illustrations in this respect.

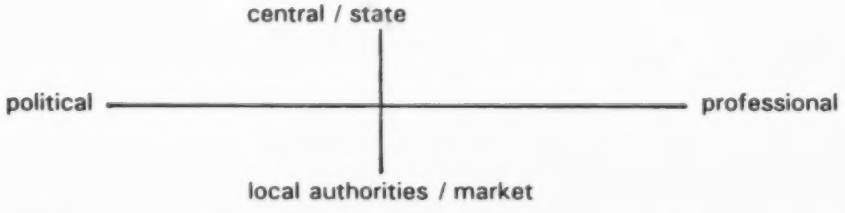
The reforms in these education systems aim for an increasing autonomy at the schoollevel on the one hand and safeguarding a core curriculum of a certain standard on the other hand. In order to achieve these goals the traditional division of the say about education is reorganised. The responsibilities and roles of several actors in the education system change, new actors enter the scene, new skills and procedures have to be acquired etc.

Framework of description

Processes of decentralisation occur; either functional decentralisation to non-governmental agencies, or territorial decentralisation to subnational units of smaller size. Weiler (1990) presents three models of argument for such processes:

a redistribution, having to do with the sharing of power,
b efficiency, which is expected to enhance the cost-effectiveness of the education system through a better management of resources and
c cultures of learning, which implies decentralisation of educational content

Lundgren (1990; Granheim and Lundgren, 1991) adds that the steering of an education system can be described in two dimensions: where is the power (at central or at local level) and who has the power/responsibility (the politicians or the professionals). Schematically this idea is presented as follows:



Every education system had, has and will have its place in this model including the consequences for mechanisms of control in the system. How this position develops seems to depend very much on the tradition of the education system concerned.

Cuttance (1994) suggests that questions about quality control (of output) and quality assurance (via internal reviews and audits) might get different answers because of the

varying positions education systems have. Evaluation seems to be an important instrument for quality control and quality assurance in education systems. Every edcuation system therefore deserves "a fair, public system of internal and external evaluation" (Liket, 1993). Variation in the organisation of such evaluation systems is expected due to features of the education systems concerned.

Weiler (1990, p442) pays attention to the relationship between decentralisation and evaluation as a mechanism for control. This relationship between decentralisation and evaluation is problematic for three different, but interrelated reasons:

a a lack of consensus on the objectives of education
b the linkage between evaluation and control
c evaluation tends to be seen and used more for its legitimating than for its informative capacity.

He concludes that "both decentralisation and evaluation have to do with the exercise of power and there is always the possibility that the power that decentralisation gives away with one hand, evaluation may take back with the other." (Weiler, 1990, p446)

Whether and how this is the case for the education systems mentioned will be explored briefly in this paper. It is supposed that similar mechanisms lead to different results because of the different traditions of the education systems concerned. Nevertheless some general tendencies in the dynamics of education systems might be found as well.
It is also expected that, although east and west European education systems have different traditions, these differences between east and west might turn out to be less important for the dynamics of the education systems concerned than differences between education systems in general.

In order to find out whether these assumptions are correct a brief description per education system will follow according to the model described. A comparison will be made based on the descriptions presented. Finally some tentative remarks will be made paying attention to the effects of the traditions and the reforms on the dynamics of education systems.

Description of (de)centralising tendencies in education systems

The descriptions of the four education systems under discussion are based on information collected in different ways: for previous studies, during recent visits to Germany and Russia and by studying literature.

England and Wales

There is a long democratic tradition in England and Wales. Social class is an important element in the British society; this is also reflected in the education system.
There used to be and still is space for variation in the structural organisation of education. The selective tripartite system is reorganised along comprehensive lines at the end of the 1960s. Nevertheless the original categorical character of the schoolsystem can still be recognised.
About 3% of the pupils in the compulsory schoolage are in private schools; the other 97% is in the public maintained sector. About 20% of these public maintained schools are 'voluntary' schools which means governed by religious organisations.

Traditionally the authority structure of the English education system is characterised as 'a national system locally administered'. In this decentralised authority structure the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) used to have a strong steering function. Since the 1988 Education Reform Act centralising as well as decentralising tendencies can be recognised. The function of the LEAs changed into a more monitoring one while schools obtained much

more autonomy and responsibility than they used to have. Governing bodies in which the team of the school as well as the parents and coopted members from the local community are represented thus became more important actors at the schoollevel with increasing power. They are responsible for the Local Management of Schools and have for example to decide on whether to 'opt out' or not. Opting out implies an almost complete independent position on the educational market including all pros and cons.
On this market other educational institutions and support agencies, including the inspectorate to a certain extend, operate. These support agencies have the status of either a 'quango' (quasi autonomous non governmental organisation) or a private organisation. Schools are expected to choose from this professional market which services to use from whom (Braaksma and Heinink, 1993; Lawlor, 1993). Some of the services (school inspection for example) are obligatory; others not.
The influence of the parents is further strengthened since the new Education Reform Act. The in 1991 published Parent's Charter can be seen as an example of this development. Silsby (1992) argues that although the quality of the charter could be improved, the idea is good. It seems at least to fit in with the ideology of an free educational market.

The educational legislation from 1988 and 1992 also implies centralising changes regarding the content and standards of the curriculum. There used to be a curriculum based on 'conventional wisdom' and regulated through about 33.000 external examinations provided by some 22 different Examination Boards. Now the curriculum is laid down in core and foundation subjects, leaving space for optional subjects in about 20% of the school time. Attainment targets are set and the assessment is regulated by newly introduced obliged moments for testing. The number of options for final examinations is reduced substantially to about 3.000. Only 5 groups of Examination Boards remained.

The Netherlands

The Dutch democratic tradition has since 1848 the form of a parliamentary democracy. There is also a long tradition of religious freedom which caused a denominational division of society as a whole and education in particular. About 30% of the schools are in the public sector; the other 70% being either protestant, catholic or non-denominational.
All schools are publicly financed, whether they are private or public.

The authority structure can be characterised as one in which policy-making is centralised and the administration and management of education are decentralised. Due to the denominational quadripartition it is a very complicated authority structure in which several intermediate agencies emerged.

Traditionally the Dutch education system has no uniform structure; several types of schools exist. The system has a categorical character. In the Education Act it is laid down which standards are required of schools (structure, curriculum, examinations), the financing of schools and the inspection. Because of the principle of 'freedom of education', regulations about the curriculum have to do with its overall composition and not with the content per subject. This tradition is slightly amended when in 1993 a very long lasting discussion on basic education ended in a parliamentary accepted decree on basic education. In this decree core objectives and a recommended timetable are laid down. It implies a curriculum with an obligatory core of 15 subjects leaving 20% of the school time for optional subjects.
It also implies some newly introduced national testing at the end of basic education.
The core objectives have to be represented in these tests. The practice of combining school-based and external centrally controlled exams for the final examinations of secondary education remained.

Several initiatives regarding further decentralisation of the authority structure can be recognised. The long tradition of pedagogical autonomy of schools is expanded with increasing administrative autonomy. The autonomy of schools increases for example through mechanisms of lumpsum financing and increasing possibilities to choose where to obtain certain support services. Since the beginning of the 1980s each school has a participation council in which the team and parents are represented. The exact roles and influence of these councils deserves a study on its own, but they cannot be neglected and seem to be stimulated to increase their scope of influence. An example of this development might be the say over the choice of educational methods. For this reason an information leaflet about educational materials is launched recently on request of the minister of education (NICL, 1994). It seems to support the introduction of a certain market ideology.
Furthermore it is argued that realising basic education and the increasing autonomy of schools require a larger scale of educational institutions. Therefore schools are urgently invited to amalgamate or at least cooperate intensively.

The government is responsible for the quality of education. Important aspects in this respect are the formulation of objectives and the assessment of results achieved through testing and examinations. Instruments for monitoring standards in the schools and national surveys are also developed increasingly; the inspectorate has an active role in this respect.
The inspectorate is a pivot actor in the process of quality control. Its position in the authority structure might well change; the intention is to turn it into an independent and more decentralised body. The duties of the inspectorate will remain the same, but quality control of the inspectorate thus becomes possible (Van der Noordt and Van Dorp, 1993).

Germany, especially the former German Democratic Republic

In the German Democratic Republic (GDR) society the leading socialist party (SED) was an important element which also influenced the education system heavily. Unfortunately this education system failed, although "in its structure and content it contained important pointers towards the future" (Meumann, 1994).

The main characteristics of the uniform GDR education system were:

- basic education for everyone in the compulsory schoolage organised along comprehensive lines in the integrated polytechnic school (POS)
- a detailed prescribed curriculum emphasising the polytechnical principle, the scientific/technological and social orientation and the subject-based presentation
- the importance of the collectivity in school and in extra-curriculuar activities.

The quality of education was guaranteed through extensive legislation and regulation on the one hand and on the other hand a rather extensive supporting and inspecting apparatus which mainly concentrated on influencing schoolleaders and teachers (Waterkamp, 1987).

Since 1990 huge reforms had to be coped with in the former GDR education system.
These reforms imply, with some variation per state, adjustment to the education system as it had developed in the Federal Republic of Germany (Fuhr, 1992). Thus comprehensive schooling almost disappeared and a less uniform and more divers education system which is relatively loosely coordinated at the federal level came into being in the five new states (Laender). The German education system now consists of 16 education systems with some common features.
The curricular guidelines are less detailed than they used to be in the GDR and not any longer provided by central government. However, the individual states prescribe them centrally for eacxh state. New teaching materials are introduced, and the extra-curricular activities barely exist any longer. The scientific orientation of the curriculum remained as this is a traditional feature of the FRG curriculum; however there is less emphasis on the technological and more

on the literary element of the curriculum. Central examinations are replaced by school-oriented examinations. On the whole the autonomy of the former GDR schools increased. For many schools this is a nice experience although they also seem to experience an increased bureaucracy. The involvement of parents with schools increases although it should be realised that in practice many difficulties are experienced in this respect.

How do these territorial decentralising changes in the authority structure as well as in the educational structure of the former GDR education system affect the mechanisms for guaranteeing the quality of education? Although this question deserves a study on its own, something briefly can be said about it. The quality of education is now mainly guaranteed through centralised regulation by the individual states and via the inspectorates.
The inspectorates have hierarchical, administrative roles as well as assessing and advising roles towards especially teachers. At first sight the two traditions of inspectorates in the GDR and the FRG seem to be rather similar in this respect. Discussions with inspectors who have to do the job in the new states showed that it still is a kind of a 'culture shock' for them to function under the new enforced conditions of the education system of the old states.
Alongside appreciation of the changes since 1989/1990 general feelings of regret could be noticed as well when visiting Germany recently. Some disadvantages mentioned of a more decentralised and market oriented ideology in providing and realising education are for example the extra-curricular activities which disappeared and the experienced lower standards of scientific and technical subjects. Such aspects seem to be felt as unneccessary losses of quality in the educational provision. Whether a real loss of quality can be noticed needs further study; maybe the IEA studies can provide more insight in this topic

Russia

The Russian Federation is an immense and diverse state with a strong centralised tradition; since 1917 directed by the communist ideology. The structure and organisation of the education system reflect the strongly centralised tradition. Although formally several responsibilities were delegated to other levels in the authority structure, the strict and centralised ideological control from the federal level guaranteed great uniformity and central steering of the education system in all 80 territories. Each territory has its own Department of Education and within these territories there are district departments of education.
Since 1925 there is an inspectorate which operates at all levels from the federation to the schools (Reuten, 1993). It seems that there used to be a very close cooperation between inspectorates and education departments. The impression is that the inspectorates mainly controlled the execution of legislation and regulations on the one hand and used to be involved with administrative duties in the order of providing resources etc. on the other hand.

Some important basic principles of the former uniform soviet education system are:

- education is a state affair,
- the provision of education is free of charge, the system is uniform throughout the country and provides at least 10 year of compulsory education for everyone,
- the curriculum is based on polytechnical and scientific principles and
- the communist upbringing has a central place in education as well as in the extra-curricular activities offered by youth organisations (Treffers, 1989).

Since 1917 remarkable results are obtained. Whereas in 1917 about 60% of the people aged 15 and older were illiterate, in 1977 about 95% of all youth completed 10 year of compulsory education (Anweiler, 1980). This might be seen as an advantage of this strongly centralised and 'input-controlled' education system. Nonetheless the need for reform and optimisation was felt almost constantly (Glowka, 1987). Firsov, Kovalyova and Loginova (1994)

characterise the situation as follows: "the multiplicity of reforms indicated the obvious dissatisfaction of the state and society with school as well as the failure in its reforming without the change of ideological paradigm".

Since perestroika such a change of the ideological paradigm seems to occur and this also influences the development of the education system. Decentralisation, differentiation in and between schools, increasing autonomy of schools and changing roles for several, if not all, actors in the education system attract attention in this respect (Glowka and Novikov, 1989; Ministry of Education, 1992; Jennes a.o., 1994).
An important document settling these developments for the time being and providing a framework for further development of the education system is the in 1992 accepted Law on Education of the Russian Federation. In this law several novelties which break down the centralised tradition can be recognised. Some examples are: the possibilities for foundations other than the state to start a school, the increasing autonomy of the schools which has to be laid down in a charter per school, and the introduction of educational requirements and standards which will be formulated at the federal (50%) as well as at the national/regional (25%) and the schoollevel (25%).
Under the new regulations schools can create distinct profiles for example by offering profound teaching in certain subjects. Providing information about differences between schools seems to be something new to which actors in the system have to get accustomed.

Although several sections of the law mention the need for control of the quality of education, the inspectorates are not mentioned explicitly. Nevertheless they still have and are expected to keep a role in guaranteeing the quality of education (Braaksma, 1994). Another mechanism for controlling the quality of education is not mentioned very explicitly either: testing and examinations. Until very recently this was, and to a certain extend still is, very much a responsibility of the school except for some examinations developed at the federal level in mathematics and Russian language. However, much seems to be in the melting pot in order to reform the monitoring of the quality of education via testing and examining pupils.
For doing so explicit formulated standards seem to be needed. How these standards will be formulated is not clear yet.

Comparison

The descriptions presented show a variation in the provision of compulsory schooling.
The western education systems studied have a less uniform tradition than the eastern systems. To which extend the selective character of the education systems depends on its uniformity is beyond the scope of this paper; it is only mentioned implicitly.
The formal structure of the education systems concerned vary in their degree of diversity. The categorical structure of the Dutch education system seems to be formally the least uniform one although it should be realised that the formally rather uniform English comprehensive schools in practice are not uniform at all and have often a divers character.
The German education system also lacks a great degree of uniformity because the systems differ per state. However, the general character of the German system is categorical.
This implies that the education system of the former GDR changed substantially when it was adapted by the former FRG during the process of unification. The uniformity of the Russian education system decreases as well, but here new modalities for the formal structure of the education system have to be developed from within the system.
In all four education systems public as well as private schools exist. The difference is that in England and the Netherlands there is a lengthy tradition in this respect although on very different grounds and under very different administrative conditions. In the Netherlands it is caused by the denominational division of society whereas in England the societal division by social class seems to be the root of the existence of publicly and private governed schools. In Germany such differences between public and private schools seem to be less emphatic.

Due to the changing infrastructure of the society it became possible in Russia to found private schools. Thus private schools are a new phenomenon in the Russian education system which causes positive as well as negative feelings. Educational professionals are pround becausa of the possibilities for starting schools which are not directly controlled by the state, but they are worried because as they say 'everyone' (including people who have little experience with and knowledge of the education profession) can start a school these days. The legally set mechanisms of licensing and accrediting private schools are expected to prevent excrescences in this respect. It might be interesting to compare these mechanisms more in depth with the ones in other countries.

The authority structure in the four systems concerned varies on two dimensions. One is the extend of (de)centralisation of the system; the other is the extend to which the education service is influenced mainly politically or mainly professionally.
Until the reforms of the 1980s in England the system was a good example of a decentralised system in which the reliance on professional and conventional wisdom was great.
Since the end of the 1980s the 'monopoly' of educational professionals decreased.
Recent legislation shows an increasing educational responsibility of political as well as market forces. This is realised by centralising the system in some respects (for example the more uniform curriculum and testing) and decentralising it in other aspects (for example increasing the administrative autonomy of schools). McLean (1993) describes these developments as a-typical for Europe because in other European countries there is a more corporatist tradition in realising such changes.
The Dutch education system has a very complicated authority structure due to the delicate topic of educational freedom. This educational freedom is guaranteed in rather detailed legislation as long as it is not about the content of education. According to Liket (1993) this causes educationally an autonomous system. Nevertheless it should be realised that the administration of the system is centralised. Nowadays tendencies of decentralisation occur through less detailed regulation and legislation of educational administration.
Thus the administrative autonomy of the schools increases. At the same time new formal provisions for and monitoring of basic education might well cause more curricular uniformity in compulsory schooling. Thus, as is feared by some actors in the system, decreasing the traditional educational autonomy.
In both countries the reforms have remarkable consequences for the organisation and functioning of the inspectorates although their roles in essence do not seem to change substantially.

Generally in both countries an increasing emphasis can be recognised on the content of education in terms of what should be learned. But these systems have not a tradition as strong as the former socialist education systems emphasising the input in terms of what should be taught (Firsov, Kovalyova and Loginova, 1994). And, although both education systems also have to prepare for society, the relation between societal needs and education is traditionally mainly left to market forces in England and the Netherlands.
This is not the case for socialist education systems; Meier (1987, p169) formulates it as follows: "Centrally systematized curricula, standardized textbooks, and highly formalized outcomes are intended to achieve an optimal fit between schooling and societal needs."
Compared to this strongly centralised and politically steered tradition of the education systems of the former GDR and Soviet Union the actual reforms of these systems are huge. Decentralisation, participation, differentiation, increasing pluralism and re-nationalisation are catchwords which can be applied to these developments (Anweiler, 1990; Pastuovic, 1993). Despite such similarities the developments in the two socialist education systems concerned in this paper differ as well.

The authority structure conditioning the education system in the former GDR used to be very centralised. Now there is a considerable amount of territorial decentralisation to the level of the five new states of the FRG, but at this level the practice is a rather centralised one.

The coordination by the KMK (Culture Minister's Conference) constraints the effects of strong formal decentralisation to the individual states. Although fitting in with the West-German tradition implies centralised regulation at the state level, this regulation is experienced as being much less restrictive than former GDR educational professionals were used to. An interesting element in the German authority structure is the inspectorate with its hierarchical and advising roles. In both former parts of Germany they seem to have had similar roles to a certain extend, but now it turns out to be difficult for schools as well as for inspectors in the five new states to get accustomed to the 'new' roles and functions (see also Braaksma, 1994).

The phenomenon described by Birzea (1994) of achieving a new policy and new objectives using the old structures and same people works out very different in Russia.
Whereas the former GDR has to get accustomed to other structures, a process which is hard and difficult, these structures to a certain extend already proved their value.
In Russia there is a complete other situation. There are no examples with similar traditional roots, so a new education system has to be designed given the uniform, centralised frame of reference provided by the old system. Education is in this period of reform a political as well as a professional topic which causes excitement and concern. The new federal law on education brought some relaxation because it sets the constraints in which the professionals have to develop the education system. However, much uncertainty is felt in exploring the new mechanisms for regulating the education system. The formulation of educational requirements, standards and mechanisms for testing are just some examples where these difficulties can be seen. The attachment to old responsibilities of some actors crash sometimes with the engagement with new responsibilities of other actors. A good example of this is what a head of school said when he was asked what kind of relations the school has with the inspectorate: "there is no longer an inspectorate". During the same visit to Russia it became clear that the inspectorates might well remain an important actor within the system but with a seriously changed role.

Conclusions

The comparison shows a diversity in decentralising tendencies in East and West European education systems. It also shows a developing educational market for public and private institutions and agencies involved with education. Ingenious mechanisms of control of this market seem to develop for example through conditions for financing educational institutions and support agencies. Deem (1994, p30) seems to be right when she states that "the culture of autonomy intends to replace the culture of dependency". This especially seems to apply for the administrative autonomy, but it is to be questioned whether this also applies for the educational autonomy.
After all core curricula are developed in at least three of the four countries, be it for different reasons. In these countries important changes in the process of testing the results of learning can be recognised as well. These changes have the direction of increasing national control in one way or another. That a similar development might well serve different aims is nicely summarised by Firsov, Kovalyova and Loginova (1994): "The matter is that if for western countries the implementation of standards was caused by certain needs to centralisation of the school, the needs of the Russian school are quite opposite: we need instruments for creation of diversity and for decentralisation of schools". How standards are set and controlled varies substantially and needs some more in depth investigation.
An interesting question is to which extend the increasing autonomy of schools results in an increasing use of mechanisms of self-evaluation (for example by reporting on results and preparing inspections) and more monitoring 'at a distance' by, among others, the inspectorates. The tendency of developing monitoring techniques which serve evaluation at the schoollevel as well as at the system's level might well turn out to be a new mechanism of quality control in education systems. In all four countries discussed here such tendencies can

be recognised. Looking forward to the effects given the traditions of the education systems concerned seems to be something interesting.

Relating the findings explicitly to Weiler's models of argument (Weiler, 1990) results in the following conclusions for the time being. Functional decentralisation to non-governmental agencies can be found in England, the Netherlands and Russia. Territorial decentralisation can be found in Germany and Russia.
In all cases the argument of the redistribution of power seems to be there. It implies a reduction of influence of the eduational professionals in England and the Netherlands and a reduction of the political influences in the former socialist education systems.
The argument of effectiveness of the education system can especially be found in England and the Netherlands where it is expected that a more market-oriented approach will encourage schools to use their resources more effectively. In Russia some professionals told that they need to enter the market in order to find additional resources to the very austere provisons of the state. This seems more a question of bitter necessity than one of increasing efficiency.
Finally the argument of decentralisation of educational content seems especially to apply to Russia although the 20% of the curriculum which is optional for schools in England and the Netherlands should not be neglected. Another aspect which has to be mentioned here is the role of educational materials. The traditionally free market might well increasingly be influenced in England and the Netherlands whereas it is these days at least formally less influenced in Germany and Russia.

The steering of the four education systems changes too. The western systems show a decreasing influence of professionals whereas in the eastern systems the influence of educational professionals increases. However in all four education systems tendencies of increasing influence of parents can be noticed.
Evaluation seems to be an important instrument for quality control in all four education systems as well. Although the configurations of evaluation instruments seem to vary, assessment through a form of examinations and testing on the one hand and a monitoring function to be executed by inspectorates on the other hand seem to be rather generally accepted mechanisms. So a general movement from control of input to control of output can be recognised. To which extend this is the case is a question that cannot be answered within the scope of this paper.

Thus this brief exploration of the relation between the tradition of education systems, the reforms occuring in them and the effects of these reforms for the dynamics of the education systems under consideration ends for the time being. Much remains to be investigated more in depth because this could be no more than an orientation on the direction of dynamics in education systems regarding increasing autonomy at the schoollevel while safeguarding the quality of education as well.

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